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flute or the *teponaztli* on the roof of the chapel, one or more sacred dances and sometimes *toros*—all constitute a program of ritual and entertainment which occupies from one to seven days. Although members of other *barrios* take part in the entertainment, the *barrio* whose *santo* is celebrated acts as host, and its members very much feel their collective importance.[20]

Barrio *esprit de corps* is also reflected in the inter-barrio competition, especially at the Carnaval, in the claims of superior miraculousness of some barrio saints as over against others, and in the traditional nicknames of each of the barrios. More recently, the soccer teams were organized on an inter-barrio basis, but this did not last.

Yet it would be easy to overestimate the strength of this *esprit de corps*[21] and the differences between the barrios. For example, Redfield wrote:

> The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cultures, or what is the same thing, different personalities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are recognized by the Tepoztecans themselves, and at least the more reflective of them can express the differences they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized *barrio* and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly conscious of national feeling). . . . Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catholic, exclusive, and independent. . . . San Pedro is a *barrio* of poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked extent ancient mentality and resent the presence of outsiders in their midst. . . .[22]

The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*. These names are in Náhuatl and are in every case names of animals. The names are

Santo Domingo	Cacame [Toads]
La Santísima	Tzicame [Ants]
San Miguel	Techihehicame [Lizards]
Santa Cruz and San Sebastián	Tapemaxtlame [*Cacomixtles*]
Los Reyes	Metzalcuanime [Maguey Worms]
San Pedro	Tlacuatzitzin [*Tlacuaches*][23]

This account does not describe present-day conditions as observed by the informants and me, and would seem to be a considerable exaggeration of barrio differences even for 1926. At best it would perhaps apply to conditions before 1900 when barrio differences were greater. Barrio nicknames were remembered by our informants, but they are rarely used and have little function in the life of the community. We were also told that a man's barrio could be determined by small differences in dress or manner, but we could observe no such differences, nor were they explained to us. This is not to deny the existence of some barrio differences. It is true, for example, that Santa Cruz has the reputation of being the

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[21] Some of the symptoms of weakness are the very poor turnout of barrio members for the planting and harvesting of the barrio milpa, the lack of candidates willing to serve as *mayordomo*, and the renting out of the barrio milpas on a cash basis.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

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the U.S.A. to the villagers. In addition, one Tepoztecan fought in the Mexican squadron which went to the Philippines and he, too, spoke of his experiences.

Tepoztecans have not escaped the repercussions of international events in recent years. World War II led to conscription, toward which Tepoztecans reacted negatively. During the first few months of our field work in the village in 1943-44 an incident occurred which illustrates the local attitude. The son of the president of the municipio had been recruited and was on his way to Cuernavaca to report for duty. His bus was stopped and the boy was "kidnapped" by several men. It was common gossip that this act was planned by the boy's father who, as a result of it, was imprisoned in Cuernavaca for some time. Federal troops were sent into the village and there was much tension among the people. However, the affair blew over, and the villagers resigned themselves to conscription and military training for their sons.

Another way in which current international events influence the village is in the intensified campaign of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the Catholic world. Acción Católica has almost doubled its membership in Tepoztlán since 1943 as a result of the increased activity of the church. The sermons of the priest sometimes include warnings against the threat of Communism, a theme which was also heard in the local church immediately after the Mexican Revolution and in the twenties. Other than this, most Tepoztecans have no information about international trends or problems; they are ignorant of the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and even of national loans.

The geographical horizon of most Tepoztecans becomes a little more concrete when they think of Mexico. While the shape of the country and its boundaries may still be hazy, they know that Mexico is their country, that it has coasts on the east and west, that the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is very hot, while the north is cold. They also know that the people of Monterrey are "stingy" and that the Yucatecans have "square-heads." They have heard of Tampico and Vera Cruz as important ports, and that Mexico produces oil and minerals. They also know some of the names of the states of Mexico, and many have had occasion to deal personally not only with people from Mexico City and with other Morelenses, but also with Mexicans from different states. During the Revolution they came into contact with soldiers from diverse parts of the country; the Norteños del Coahuila camped in Tepoztlán for months, and the people still speak of their strange customs.

Of course, the geographic horizons of the younger generation which has had some years of schooling are quite different. The children study a little world geography and know the continents and major countries of the world. Most have studied the map of Mexico, and some of the youth are beginning to demonstrate a real nationalism.

The average Tepoztecan's notion of the geography of the state of Morelos is much more precise than his notion of the geography of the nation. Many Tepoztecans have traveled over large portions of the state, as well as neighboring regions, during the years of the Revolution. Others have taken trips for economic

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484 823 [464] purposes, religious pilgrimages, or political reasons. Tepoztecans know what towns are to the north of the state of Morelos and have a pretty good notion of the products produced in the various parts of the state. Their work on haciendas to the south has also given them some familiarity with this part of the state. Some Tepoztecans are related by ties of marriage and *compadrazgo* with families in other parts of the state of Morelos.

619 648 There is an increasing identification of Tepoztecans with the Mexican nation and with the state of Morelos. The factors which relate the villagers to these larger entities are cultural, administrative, religious, political, and economic.

CULTURAL FACTORS

619 872 Perhaps the most important and decisive of the several cultural factors—the school, cultural missions, books and newspapers, the literacy campaign, and the movies—which tend to make for the formation of a sentiment of *mexicanidad* or Mexican nationalism is the school, where the younger generation learn about the history, geography, and economy of the country as a whole, and where a conscious effort is made to instill love of country.

THE SCHOOL

[648] The school became more effective after the early twenties when the schools of the state of Morelos were federalized by means of a special agreement between the state and the nation. This led to the standardization of texts and teaching methods. But more important, the school personnel was recruited from various parts of [875] Mexico rather than, as formerly, only from the state of Morelos. Since that time, Tepoztlán has had teachers from Yucatán, Jalisco, Nuevo León, and many other states. These teachers have different backgrounds and expose the children to the customs and sentiments of their respective regions. Thus, in the programs organized in the school, pupils have had the opportunity of seeing teachers dance the *jarabe tapatío*, the *raspa veracruzana*, and the *jarana yucateca*.

Squadron 201, the new school building named after a squadron of Mexican aviators who fought in the Philippines in World War II, stands as a symbol of *mexicanidad* to Tepoztecans. The school was constructed with national funds upon the direct order of President Avila Camacho in response to the request of a [729] Tepoztecan who was a member of Squadron 201. Upon the return of the squadron to Mexico, President Camacho organized a public reception and at this time invited each member to ask for what he desired. The majority of the men asked [554] for subsidies for their families, but Angel Bocanegra asked for a school for his village. Because of this he has become a great hero in the village, and among the [186] younger generation has taken the place of the older regional and village heroes of the Revolution.

The school not only stimulates Mexican nationalism, but is also a powerful factor in developing the feeling of being a Morelense. The school teaches the geography and economy of the state in some detail. The text on the geography of

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the state of Morelos is excellent and covers all the municipios of the state. Excursions organized by the school give the younger generation an opportunity to know their state.

The proximity of Cuernavaca, the state capital, also plays some part in developing a consciousness of being Morelenses. In Cuernavaca there are secondary and preparatory schools to which some Tepoztecan parents send their children, since the local school reaches only to the sixth grade.

STUDENT SCHOLARSHIPS

Each year the secretary of education makes available a number of student scholarships for advanced study outside the village. About fifty Tepoztecans have received such scholarships during the past fifteen years, and many of these students have returned to the village to teach or to carry on their work as farmers. The experience away from home makes for many changes in habits and customs, and must be reckoned as another source of culture change, though obviously a limited one.

CULTURAL MISSIONS

Paralleling the work of the school is that of the cultural missions, also a federal service, which travel throughout the country visiting peasant and Indian communities and giving instruction for adults. Tepoztlán has had a cultural mission for two years, and in 1947 the mission worked in one of the surrounding villages of the municipio. All of the members of the mission were non-Tepoztecans, again making for increased opportunities to become familiar with customs from different parts of the country. The mission taught Tepoztecans how to make beds, chairs, and other furniture; it taught the girls knitting, sewing, and crocheting; it encouraged social dancing and sports such as volleyball; it taught the women how to make inexpensive candies and preserves; it worked on improving the homes by getting a few families to build privies and to raise the hearth off the floor for more sanitary cooking. In addition, there was a doctor attached to the mission who administered inoculations and gave advice on baby care.

BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS

Most of the books which reach Tepoztlán are textbooks used in the school. One of the innovations of the Mexican government since the Revolution has been the elimination of most texts written by foreigners, and the substitution of texts written by Mexicans, which seek to arouse Mexican nationalism. Stories of the Mexican Indians have been substituted for those of children of other lands, and national heroes receive an important place in most texts dealing with history. The secretary of education has printed millions of copies of history texts which are distributed free, and some of these books have reached Tepoztecan homes.

Among other publications which occasionally reach Tepoztlán are leaflets put out by the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano (now the Partido Revolucionario

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Institucional) presidential messages, propaganda leaflets from the League of Agrarian Communities, the Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos, and the Sinarquistas. However, the reading public is still very small, and for the most part such leaflets go unnoticed.

Twenty years ago the few literate persons in the village read novels, such as the popular *Génova de Brabante* or *María el Hada del Bosque* and, among the youth, the *Secretario de los Amantes*. Today one finds the youth reading the popular comics "Paquín" and "Chamaco." The principal characters in these comics are Mexicans and the jokes are full of Mexicanisms associated with city life.

Other fairly common items read by young Tepoztecans are the *cancioneros* (song sheets), some of which are distributed free by the Bayer Aspirin Company as part of their advertising. These songs are written by Mexicans and generally reflect much of the life of the countryside in different regions of Mexico. It is not unusual on a moonlit night to hear groups of young men singing of a legend of Mayab, or a *danzón* from Vera Cruz, or a song from Jalisco. American tunes such as "Begin the Beguine," sung in Spanish, are also occasionally heard. Many of the songs exalt the virtues of the Mexicans and of Mexico, and reflect the growing sense of nationalism. Thus, we were not surprised to hear a young Tepoztecan on his way to the fields singing, "Soy puro mexicano, nacido en esta tierra que es mi linda nación." This song is a symbol of Tepoztecan localism slowly giving way to identification with the Mexican nation.

Because of the proximity of the state capital to Mexico City, local newspapers are overshadowed by the national dailies. However, two small papers are published in Cuernavaca, and these carry local notices, news, and many advertisements of the commercial houses of Cuernavaca. Some of these newspapers reach Tepoztlán, but they are read primarily by the local government officials. On fiesta days the paper is sometimes sold by a hawker who may announce some sensational murder in the state. The paper is very Morelos-conscious and uses slogans such as, "Every good Morelense buys these products" or "Morelos advances towards agricultural progress," etc. The only other local periodical which reaches a few Tepoztecans is the *Diario Oficial del Estado*, read primarily by the courthouse officials.

LITERACY CAMPAIGN

Another federal service which reached Tepoztlán and contributed toward the identification of Tepoztecans with the nation was the campaign against illiteracy, carried out by the Department of Education. The slogans used included, "Mexico must be great because of its culture" and "The Fatherland must have citizens who can read." Slogans such as these were posted on billboards in the village, and representatives from the Department of Education came to Tepoztlán, gave talks, and showed movies. It was recognized that in a village like Tepoztlán the original idea of each literate teaching at least one illiterate how to read would not work. The program was therefore organized by the schoolteachers in terms of adult evening classes for illiterates.

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NATIONAL AND STATE HOLIDAYS

The commemoration of the dates of national independence is assuming more and more importance in Tepoztlán. Thanks to the labor of the school, the national holidays of September fifteenth and sixteenth have become outstanding fiestas in the village—only the Carnaval is still more popular. Preparations are begun at least two months prior to September fifteenth. The children are the first to begin the campaign in the homes, for they are told by their teachers to ask for new uniforms for the parade. Despite the burden of such expense, many parents purchase the uniforms. All the local officials, the president, the councilmen, the judges, the director of the school, and the collector of rents, prepare for the event and all attend. Speakers from the governor's office in nearby Cuernavaca are usually invited, and the populace turns out to hear them.

The state of Morelos has its own civic fiestas which are celebrated with considerable flourish. Among the most important are the celebration of the birthday of Father Morelos, after whom the state was named, and the birth and death of the great General Emiliano Zapata, the most popular hero in the state. As in the case of the national fiestas, the school is the organizing and driving force in the celebration of these fiestas; however, they are not on as large a scale as national fiestas. The teachers and the school director generally make speeches, reviewing the great achievements of the hero Zapata, and they do not fail to point out that at least five of Zapata's generals were from Tepoztlán. In addition to these local celebrations, Tepoztecans often send a delegate to the official state celebration of Zapata's birthday.

The state also has its popular song writers, and its songs dwell on local history or local scenes, easily recognized as Morelos songs by the lyrics if not by the music.

MOVIES

Mexican movies have also broadened the Tepoztecan view of Mexico and the world. More and more the younger generation see an occasional movie in Cuernavaca, and sometimes a movie comes to Tepoztlán to be shown in the plaza at a small cost.

ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS

At least half a dozen federal government agencies have files on Tepoztlán. These files contain correspondence with the village and provide us with a more or less objective record of Tepoztlán and national agencies. Most of the files date from the early twenties and reflect the increasing role of these agencies in village life in the post-Revolutionary period. The agencies which have the fullest records are the Departamento Agrario, Forestal, Asuntos Indígenas, Economía Nacional, Salubridad, and Asistencia Social.

It is not my purpose to give a detailed account of all the federal agencies which may directly or indirectly influence Tepoztlán. However, the more salient ways

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The negative reactions of the peasants to conscription stem from a number of causes. Many recalled the hateful system of forced recruiting which had existed under the Díaz regime and feared that this system was now being reinstituted. Parents were distrustful of the care and food their sons would receive in the army and worried about their fate among strangers in the hostile outside world. Also, the absence of an eighteen-year-old son for a year often meant a serious economic loss to the family. Tepoztecans do not identify national problems of defense or internal order with their own interests, and they resent having to fight other people's (i.e., Mexicans') battles. Local feeling against conscription reached its climax when it was rumored that the young men were being prepared to fight against the Germans at the orders of the United States. This rumor was spread throughout Mexico by the Sinarquistas.

JUSTICE AND THE DEPARTAMENTO DE GOBERNACIÓN

There are very few occasions when local court cases reach the federal courts. However, federal intervention was sought during the hectic political campaigns of the twenties, when Tepoztecans who were imprisoned for political reasons appealed for federal injunctions to get them free. More recently a boundary conflict between Tepoztlán and Tejalpa reached the Federal Supreme Court, and Tepoztecans have sent many delegations to visit the justices of this court to explain their case.

Another federal department with which Tepoztecans have had some contact is *Gobernación* which is responsible for preserving public order throughout Mexico and for the smooth functioning of political campaigns and elections.

As we have seen, the attitude of Tepoztecans toward most federal agencies is a negative one. The outstanding exception is the school, which was built with federal funds and which is appreciated by the populace. The fact is that Tepoztecans might obtain more aid from federal agencies if they sought it out. However, the attitude of suspicion and self-sufficiency of the older generation militates against this. Now that the younger generation is beginning to take over positions of power, the situation may change. Angel Bocanegra, president of the municipio, is a good example of this. Bocanegra did not hesitate to go to Mexico City and visit the various federal departments soliciting aid for the village. In preparing for the celebration of the national holidays in 1949, Bocanegra borrowed an electric generator from one agency to provide electricity for the occasion, a movie projector from another agency, and from still another agency he received the promise of help in improving the quality of the local water supply.

Dealings of Tepoztecans with the administrative apparatus of the state government are quite frequent and are facilitated by the proximity of Cuernavaca. The governor of the state is an important figure to Tepoztecans. It would be difficult to find Tepoztecans who do not know the name of the present governor, and many can recall at least a few past governors. Indeed, some even remember the names of some of the governors of the Díaz epoch. The governor is thought of as "almost the president." However, the fact that they have seen the governor more

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The Catholic Church within the state has its regional seat in Cuernavaca, where the bishop resides. The priest in Tepoztlán is under his supervision and carries out his instructions. Periodic religious pilgrimages establish important ties with other parts of the state. Within Tepoztlán there are the following *mayordomías*, each of which organizes at least one annual visit to another town. The *mayordomías* in Tepoztlán proper include Mazatepec, Jiutepec, Tejalpa, Tlayacapan, all in Morelos, and Chalma in the state of Guerrero. Four of the seven villages of the municipio of Tepoztlán also have *mayordomías* that relate them to the state. Santiago goes to Oacalco and Yautepec; Gabriel Mariaca to Ixcatepec, Tlayacapan, Cuautla, Jojutla, Jiutepec, and Mazatepec, all in Morelos, to Amecameca in the state of Mexico, to Chalma in Guerrero, and to the Villa de Guadalupe in the Federal District. Ocotitlán goes to the Villa de Guadalupe, Chalma, and Amecameca. San Juan goes to Mazatepec, Chalma, the Villa de Guadalupe, and Amecameca.

POLITICAL FACTORS

The Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 has been one of the most important factors in developing a sense of nationalism among Tepoztecans. Many Tepoztecans joined the ranks of the Zapatistas and had occasion to travel widely with the guerrilla forces. As we have pointed out, the rest of the population was forced to flee to other parts of the nation. All of this meant more extensive contacts with the outside.

During the years of the Revolution and thereafter, many of the *caudillos* of the Revolution, such as Zapata and Obregón, established the custom of visiting the peasants personally and discussing local problems. Contact with the rural population has been one of the policies of the post-Revolution presidents since Calles. Tepoztecans now think of the president of Mexico not only as a representative of the powerful government, but also as a popular figure, a friend of the peasants.

It is not uncommon for Tepoztecans to send requests or protests directly to the president. This has happened in almost every case of conflict between factions in the village or in cases of boundary quarrels with neighboring villages or municipios. This attitude toward the president was reinforced by the personal visit of General Lázaro Cárdenas to the village during his presidency. Cárdenas arrived in the village on foot, without any previous announcement or preparation, and accompanied only by a small contingent of friends and officials. The president set up a temporary office in the atrium of the church, where he consulted Tepoztecans about their problems. The big request from the village was for aid with the construction of a road to Cuernavaca. The president acceded, and the road was quickly completed with federal help.

The national elections for the president, which come every six years, also give Tepoztecans an opportunity to discuss political themes of nation-wide scope. Before the elections, delegates and politicians visit the village to organize local committees in favor of their particular group or candidate. During such campaigns Tepoztecans become more keenly aware that they are acting not only as Tepoztecans and as Morelenses, but also as members of the Mexican nation.

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To a lesser degree the election of federal senator and deputies also touches the Tepoztecan population. On these occasions politicians from the capital come to the village to electioneer and to organize sympathizers for their candidates. However, the intervention of the governor of the state is much more direct in these elections, and so Tepoztecans tend to view them as state or regional elections. On the whole, the younger generation participates very little in politics, since this is a matter for the older men.

Some indication of the Tepoztecan sense of belonging to the Mexican nation may be gathered from their reaction to the question of Mexico's participation in World War II. Most Tepoztecans were opposed to Mexican entrance into the war on the side of the democracies. Under the influence of Sinarquist propaganda, sympathy with the Axis powers developed in the village. Rumors began to circulate that Zapata was not really dead but was fighting with Hitler, and that that explained why the Germans were winning so many victories. The latent and widespread anti-U.S.A. sentiment was encouraged by rumors that the Mexicans were being asked to fight to save the gringos. Nevertheless, the Tepoztecans accepted the Mexican declaration of war as one of those decisions of the omnipotent federal government, about which nothing can be done. This Tepoztecan attitude of passivity was typical of the attitude of most Mexicans toward the war.

Since the Revolution the state of Morelos has developed an intense political life that has reached into Tepoztlán. After the thirties, constitutional government was instituted and the governor and local officials were elected, rather than imposed. Political campaigns and electioneering became important; and Tepoztlán, because of its proximity to the state capital, received much attention from prospective candidates. In the attempt to get votes, speakers appealed to state loyalty with such slogans as, "First the Morelenses and then the Mexicans," and made typical demagogic preelection speeches. A good number of Tepoztecans show enthusiasm and interest in state politics, and several hundred men generally turn out to hear the speeches. The election of a new governor always means the possibility of some advantage to the village, or at least to a few Tepoztecans who have actively supported him.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

The Tepoztecan economy is not self-sufficient, and is an integral part of the larger national economy. Tepoztlán exports corn, charcoal, and plums to Mexico City, and in turn imports manufactured goods and some foods. Trading relations involve contacts with individuals in the big city, and occasionally Tepoztecans go directly to Mexico City to make purchases. Since the construction of the road, trade and economic contacts with Mexico City have been much more frequent. The tourist trade has also made for increased contacts with outsiders.

Trade between Tepoztlán and other towns in the state of Morelos develops knowledge of the region and its peoples. Tepoztlán carries on most of its trade with Cuernavaca and Yautepec, but also with smaller towns and villages in the state.

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THE VILLAGE AND THE MUNICIPIO

The relations of the village with the municipio are closer and more personal than those with any of the larger units discussed so far. Tepoztecans know the municipio intimately—they know its topography, history, legends, natural resources, people, and villages. Even small children can name the seven villages, and know the way to each. The limits of the municipio are also well known, as are the details of the many recurring boundary disputes with neighboring municipios. It is within the bounds of the municipio that the every-day world of the Tepoztecan exists. Here the farmers work the communal lands, cut and burn the communal forests, graze their cattle, hunt for medicinal herbs, and attend village fiestas.

The fact that the village of Tepoztlán is the *cabecera* of the municipio gives Tepoztecans a sense of pride and superiority over residents of the remaining villages. Tepoztlán has for centuries had a dominant position in relation to the other villages.

In treating of the units larger than the municipio, we have spoken about cultural factors and have dealt with history within that category. In the case of the municipio, the historical factor is much more important and deserves special consideration. Although the state of Morelos is a relatively recent political entity dating from 1867, the political and geographical unit equivalent to the present-day municipio dates back over four hundred years to the pre-Hispanic era.

According to a legend in Tepoztlán concerning the formation of the municipio, the surrounding villages were originally defensive military outposts of the central village of Tepoztlán where political control rested. Before the Spanish Conquest, Tepoztlán was frequently at war with the surrounding towns and, therefore, needed outposts to hold off surprise attacks. Only in this way can present-day Tepoztecans explain the location of San Juan in a place that has no water supply.

While we have no reliable historical data on the origins of the municipio as such, there is no question but that six of the seven present-day villages existed before the Conquest and that the present-day boundaries of the municipio are about the same as those before the Conquest. The geographical unit represented by the present-day municipio is therefore an ancient one.[5]

Before the Conquest, Tepoztlán was a semi-independent *señorío* (kingdom) which was administratively subject to Huaxtepec. Tepoztlán with its surrounding

[5] In *Relación*, pp. 238-39, the six outlying villages are referred to as *estancias* of Tepoztlán and are named and described as follows:

"The *estancia* of Santiago, called Tepetlapan, which is one of the six *estancias* of the said town, is toward the south, in the direction of Yautepequ. They say it is so named because it is built on coarse rock, which is called Tepetate. . . .

"The *estancia* of Santa María Magdalena, which is the second *estancia* of the six, and is a little to the east of this town, they say is called Cimatlen (Amatlán) because in ancient times they had there an idol which they worshipped which they called Ometecatl, and which acknowledged homage to the devil (*sic*) of Tepoztlán.

"And the *estancia* of Santo Domingo, third of the six, which stands sloping a little to the north of this town, they say is called Xocotitlán now and formerly Elosuchitlan, which means land of